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THE OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS OF JESUS

FOUND IN 1903

WITH
THE SAYINGS CALLED 'LOGIA'
FOUND IN 1897

A LECTURE

BY THE

REV. CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D.

MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

OXFORD
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given in the following pages, which contain the substance of an open Lecture given at Oxford in Mansfield College in December last (1904), with some things then omitted for the sake of brevity and subsequent additions.

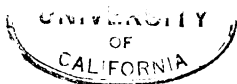
The character of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings is well accounted for by the hypothesis that their authors or redactors had recourse for materials to the Canonical Gospels, the New Testament apocrypha, and other documents.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE,
March, 1905.

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THE OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS OF JESUS

The fragmentary Sayings of Jesus found in 1903 are discussed under the names *New Sayings of Jesus* and *Fragment of a Lost Gospel*, given to them by the Editors, in Section A and Section B respectively. Section C is on the *Logia* or Sayings found in 1897, and brought out in that year by the same Editors under the double title LOGIA IESOU, *Sayings of our Lord*. Section D contains a general *Conclusion*.

A

NEW SAYINGS OF JESUS

With the New Sayings I was first made in a measure acquainted by an article on 'The New Christian Papyri,' contributed by Canon E. L. Hicks to the *Manchester Guardian* of the 18th June last (1904). Soon afterwards I read these Sayings and the Gospel Fragment as deciphered and expounded by the Editors, and put together my notes upon them. Some things have now been added from Dr. Swete's Lecture on the New Sayings, as published in the *Expository Times* of August, 1904.

In the following studies I begin in each case with a reprint of the Greek from the Editors' transcript in minuscules, which, unlike their transcript in capitals, contains a number of conjectural additions. Their estimates of the spaces to be filled, as shown by dots which represent the missing letters, will be found to be apparently very exact, due allowance being made for letters of more or less than the average breadth, as ω and ι . The Editors and their advisers have done much toward the completion of the New Sayings, except the Third and the Fifth. Of the forty-two lines in one column which contained the

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New Sayings, the latter halves have all been broken off, and the lines from the thirty-second to the last, of which only two letters are left, are increasingly defective at the beginning. The Editors' separate edition of the New Sayings and the Gospel Fragment will be quoted by the abbreviation *N.S.*

INTRODUCTION, ll. 1-5.

{οἱ} τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [. οὗς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[ύριος] ?
καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς· πᾶς ὅστις
ἀν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ] θανάτου
5 οὐ μὴ γεύσεται.

LINE 1. The Editors' spacing of the first line is conjectural. There is no such word in it as *τοῖοι*; what remains of the line being:—

Ο.ΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΟΙΛΟΓΟΙ ΟΙ.

In the facsimile, as I have it, I find no clear trace of the second letter, but there is room for Y, written like a small *gamma* (γ) with its dexter stroke upright, as is the Y of *γεύσεται* in line 5. If the scribe wrote *οιροι* it must have been by mistake for *οἱροι*, *these*. Next comes the article *οι* strangely written with its first letter triangular, and it is repeated just before *λόγοι*, *words*. As an epithet of these read *ἀληθινοί*, *true*, comparing John iv. 37, Rev. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6; and, with one *οἱ* deleted, the sense of the line will be:—

These are the true words which.

LINES 2-5. Filling the vacant space with *τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, in accordance with Professor Bartlet's suggestion (*N.S.* p. 12), and substituting *Ἀμὴν λέγω* for *αὐτοῖς· πᾶς*, we get the sense:—

*Spake Jesus the living Lord to the disciples
And Thomas; and He said, Verily I say,
Whosoever shall hearken unto these words, of death
5 He surely shall not taste.*

Of line 2 nothing remains after $\delta \zeta\omega\nu \kappa$. Two questions have to be answered, What came next after $\delta \zeta\omega\nu$? and what stood at the end of the line? (1) The Editors give $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ as very doubtful, and $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ as equally likely, cf. Rev. i. 18, *I am he that liveth and was dead*. (2) For the next word or words they give the option between a proper name in the dative, as *to Philip*, or *to Matthias*; a phrase such as *to the other disciples* (so Dr. Bartlet, cf. l. 32 and John xx. 26, *his disciples were within and Thomas with them*); and Ἰούδας τῷ , *to Judas who is also Thomas*, i.e. *to Judas Thomas*, suggested by Professor Lake. To these suggestions add that of Canon E. L. Hicks, who quotes Deut. i. 1, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, and reads:—

These are the words, *thé* [*last* (words) which]
Spake Jesus the Living [and *True*, to the *Eleven*]
And Thomas.

The points (1) and (2) have to be settled together, in order that the reading as a whole may be of the right length. Supposing the choice to lie between the readings,

$\delta \zeta\omega\nu \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$,
 $\delta \zeta\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\nu \text{Ἰούδας τῷ}$,
and $\delta \zeta\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \text{Ἰούδας τῷ}$,

each of which gives seventeen letters after the κ , I should on the whole prefer the first of the three. The compiler would have claimed dominical sanction for his Sayings, as St. Paul or St. Luke for the saying quoted in Acts xx. 35 in the name of 'the Lord Jesus'; and the Sayings themselves or some of them tell us that they were addressed to a plurality of disciples.

The reading 'to the disciples and Thomas' makes St. Thomas the authority for the record, In the canonical writings he becomes prominent only after the Resurrection, and to this period the Introduction to the New Sayings seems to refer. The Editors' variant for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ suggested by Rev. l.c. would make this reference a certainty. But

I think that ὁ ζῶν of itself connotes the same; and 'Lord' in its higher sense is a title of Him 'that liveth and was dead,' cf. Acts ii. 36; Rom. x. 9, xiv. 9. In grammatical form the title ὁ ζῶν κύριος resembles John vi. 57, ὁ ζῶν πατήρ, *the living Father*.

For the phrase 'taste of death' in its sense *die* the reader is referred rightly to Matt. xvi. 28, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27; and for the same with a supposed 'deeper and metaphorical meaning' to John viii. 52, *If a man keep my word, he shall never taste of death* (*N.S.* p. 12), a saying which it is thought that our author may have known independently of the Fourth Gospel (*Ox. Papyrus*. IV. 11).

But in John viii. 51 f. the phrase comes in as follows:—

51 Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never *see* (θεωρήσῃ) death. 52 Then said the Jews unto him, Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest, If a man keep my saying, he shall never *taste* of death.

The Evangelist regards the Jews as ignorant or cavilling objectors, and makes them misquote the saying in verse 51. In the *New Sayings* perhaps this point was overlooked; the Fourth Gospel was used uncritically; and the Jews' garbled version of His saying, with *taste of death* like 'Abraham and the prophets' instead of *see death*, is attributed to Jesus.

And further, the saying as it stands in lines 3-5, with its express reference to 'these words' which follow, is clearly not an unadulterated 'true word'; but rather a saying edited by a compiler so as to form part of his preface to a collection for which he claims the authority of the Lord Jesus.

FIRST SAYING, ll. 5-9.

5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·
μὴ πανσάσθω ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν
εὕρῃ καὶ ὅταν εὕρῃ [θαμβηθήσεται καὶ θαμ-
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει καὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-
ήσεται.

LINES 6, 7. The gap in line 6 would be not inappropriately filled by *την σοφίαν*, *wisdom*. In the next line 'the exigencies of the space seem to require *θαμβείσθω*' (Swete), *let him be amazed or marvel*, rather than the longer word *θαμβηθήσεται*. Rendering accordingly we get :

5 *Saith Jesus,*
Let him not cease that seeketh Wisdom until
He find, and when he has found let him marvel; and
Having marvelled he shall reign, and reigning
He shall rest.

The Saying is quoted or alluded to as below in patristic writings :—

a. Clem. Strom. ii. 9 (P. 453), Ἡ καὶ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ, Ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει, γέγραπται· καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαυθήσεται. 'As it is written also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, *He who wonders shall reign, and he who has come to reign shall rest.*'

b. Clem. *Strom.* v. 14 (P. 704), Οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν
 ἕως ἂν εὑρῇ· εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται· θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει·
 βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται. *The seeker shall not cease
 until he find, and having found he shall marvel, and
 having marvelled he shall reign, and having come to reign
 he shall rest.* Θάμβος means great ‘wonder,’ as in Acts iii.
 10 and *they were filled with wonder and amazement.* But,
 ‘wonder’ having been used for θαυμάζω, a different word
 was wanted for θαμβεῖσθαι.

c. Barn. iv. 13. 'Lest perchance, *taking our rest* (ἐπαπαυόμενοι) as if called, we slumber in our sins, and the wicked Prince receive the power over us and thrust us away from *the kingdom* of the Lord.' I take this to be a possible allusion to the Saying, with its promise of rest when the kingdom is won. He who rests prematurely will fail to reach the kingdom.

d. 2 Clem. R. ii. 6, v. 5. 'For that is great and wonderful (*θαυμαστόν*), to establish not the things that are standing but those which are falling . . . but the promise

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of Christ is great and *wonderful*, to wit *the rest of the coming kingdom* and of life eternal.'

Resch in his *Agrapha* quotes this from the *Homily* of Pseudo-Clement of Rome as an allusion to the Saying in Clem. *Strom.* ii. l. c., which he regards as not a genuine *Logion* but an *Apocryphon*. Pseudo-Clement's 'promise of Christ' may be thought to be an attestation of our author's 'Saith Jesus,' or the like; that is to say, of the express ascription of the Saying to Christ.

For surprise at the revelation of the kingdom see Matt. xxv. 34 f.; Barn. vii. 9; 2 Clem. R. xvii. 5.

e. Acta Thomae § 136, p. 243 ed. Bonnet, quoted by Mr. Badham. 'And the apostle said, the treasury of the holy King is flung open, and they who worthily partake of the good things there rest, *and resting they shall reign.*'

Clement in *Strom.* ii. leads up to the Saying with words about Wisdom and knowledge of the truth, of which the beginning is to wonder at things, 'as Plato in the *Theaetetus* saith,' in words attributed to Socrates. And he quotes St. Matthias as saying in his *Traditions*, *Θαύματος τὰ παρόντα*, *wonder at the things present*. Wonder is a phase of ignorance antecedent to the quest and acquirement of knowledge.

In the Saying as cited more at length, but without indication of its source, in *Strom.* v. there is no sign of any hiatus as in l. 6. This led me to think of a reading, 'Let not the seeker cease τοῦ ζητεῖν, *from seeking*, until he find'; but, having regard to *Strom.* ii. l. c., I prefer to insert 'Wisdom' as the subject of the Saying.

For Wisdom as a personage to be sought diligently, and as related to wonder, rest, and kingship, compare the following sayings:—

Eccles. vi. 27 Search, and seek, and she shall be made known unto thee. 28 (li. 27) For at the last thou shalt find her rest. 31 Thou shalt put her . . . about thee as a crown of joy.

Prov. viii. 15 By me kings reign.

Wisd. x. 10 She . . . shewed him the kingdom of God.

14 She brought him the sceptre of the kingdom. 17 (She) guided them in a marvellous way.

Add the Stoic teaching that the wise man is the true king, to which St. Paul alludes in 1 Cor. iv. 8-10, *ye have reigned . . . ye are wise* (cf. Lightfoot on *St. Paul and Seneca*); and we have apt parallels which suffice to account for Wisdom as the subject of the first of the *New Sayings*. This does not indeed make wonder the 'beginning of wisdom,' but brings it in perhaps as leading from wisdom attained to a higher grade of it. See also Mark x. 24 f.; Heb. iii. 11-iv. 11; Rev. xiv. 13, xx. 4.

SECOND SAYING, ll. 9-21.

- λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς τίνες
 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ
 ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστίν;
 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ-
 τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστίν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκον-
 15 τες ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν
 γνῶ ταύτην εὐρήσκει
 ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεται [καὶ εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ
 ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς
 20 γνώσ(ε)θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν].
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡπτοί.

LINES 9-15. These lines contained a section complete in itself, which began perhaps with Ἐρωτᾶτε (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 6). In l. 10 ἄνω εἰς οὐρανόν is possible as an alternative to εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. The next line may have ended Ἀμὴν λέγω or Λέγω ὑμῖν. In l. 12 I read πᾶν κτίσμα, *every creature*, as more comprehensive than τῶν θηρίων, *of the beasts*. Translating accordingly we get:—

- Saith Jesus, Ye ask, Who are*
 10 *They that draw us up to heaven, if*
The kingdom is in heaven? Verily I say,
The fowls of the heaven, and every creature that

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*Is under the earth or upon the earth, and
The fishes of the sea, these are they that*

15 *Draw you.*

LINES 15-21. An editorial καί (l. 15) introduces a further saying about the kingdom. For a simple καί, *And*, meaning 'And he saith in another place,' see Heb. i. 8 (Ps. xlv.), *But unto* (R. V. of) *the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever . . .* 10 (Ps. cii.), *And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth.*

In l. 17, which ends with three *plus* eight dots, another καί is wanted to begin a fresh clause, and εὐρόντες with its eight letters exactly fills the remaining space.

In l. 18, partly adopting Dr. Swete's ἐὰν γὰρ ἀληθῶς | ἐαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες | ἐστὲ κτέ, I would replace the Editors' conjectural supplement by *ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες.*

In l. 19 read, with the Editors, τοῦ παντοκράτορος καί.

Line 20 ends with four *plus* five *plus* five dots. Words wanted here are αὐτοῦ ὄντας, and the remaining dots . . . suggest τοῖς as in Luke ii. 49, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, R. V. *in my Father's house*; or to keep the plural, say *precincts.*

With πόλις for its last word the Saying would end thus :—

15 *And, The kingdom of heaven*
Is within you, and whosoever himself
Shall know shall find it; and having found it
Ye shall know yourselves, that sons and daughters
Are ye of the Father Almighty, and
20 *Ye shall know that ye are in His precincts,*
And ye are the city.

In the main successfully restored by the Editors the Second Saying lacked little but illustration, although they show some want of confidence in their reconstruction.

The MS. reading 'us' and the interrogation, *Who are they that draw us up to heaven?* if that be the true form of it, are justified by the *locus classicus* quoted below from the Pentateuch with its New Testament parallel. These express the thought of the inaccessibility of heaven to

man, and to one or both of them the Saying in all probability alludes.

Deut. xxx. 11 For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. 12 It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, *Who shall go up for us to heaven*, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? 13 Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, *Who shall go over the sea for us*, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? 14 But the word is very *nigh* unto thee, in thy mouth, and *in thy heart*, that thou mayest do it.

Rom. x. 6 But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, *Who shall ascend into heaven?* (that is, to bring Christ down from above:) 7 Or, *Who shall descend into the deep?* (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) 8 But what saith it? The word is *nigh* thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach.

From the commandment or Law to Wisdom the transition is obvious and natural. Ecclus. li. 26, *Nigh* (Heb. קרובה) *is she to them that seek her*, is a reminiscence (A.V. marg.) of Deut. xxx. 14. A more extended allusion to Deut. l. c. is found in Job xxviii. 12-28, *Where shall wisdom be found? ... The depth saith, It is not in me ... It is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the heaven ... And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.* As revealed to man it is 'very nigh' and practical: not far off in heaven but in the heart, 'that thou mayest do it.'

See also Prov. xxx. 3, I neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy. 4 Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? and John i. 51, iii. 13.

'There remains however the greatest *crux* of all, the meaning of *draw*' (N. S. p. 16). In *ἐλκοντες* and its use here I find no difficulty; but was there anything in literature to suggest it?

We may think of the approach to the kingdom as a wayfaring along 'The steep and thorny path that leads

to heaven.' Going back from Hamlet to Hesiod, we find the ancient poet describing the ascent to the abode of Virtue as at first steep. The ascent to heaven may be likened to a mountain track, so precipitous in places that the traveller cannot climb up it. Angels must carry him, as they carried Lazarus in the Parable.

The old *Kebetis Tabula*, which any Greek of the day might have known as an elementary school-book, expounds a supposed allegorical picture representing life as a pilgrimage to the abode of the blessed. The way winds up a hill, on which there is a great rugged rock. Up above stand two strong women, the personified sister virtues Continence and Endurance. These stretch out their hands eagerly, exhorting the weary travellers to endure to the end. But up the rock no path is seen. The question is asked, How do the men get up it? The answer is, that those women descend the precipice *and drag the men up to them*,

καὶ ἔλκουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄνω πρὸς αὐτάς.

Here we have the word *ἔλκειν*, *draw*, used as in the Saying, the author of which may very well have borrowed from the *Tablet* or *Picture* of 'Kebes.' *ἔλκω*, *ἐλκύω*] For the latter see John vi. 44, xii. 32, to which also the Saying may allude. Clement of Alexandria uses both.

Clem. *Strom.* v. 12 (P. 694), ἡ ὅτι ἡ ἰσχύς τοῦ λόγου ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν . . . πάντα τὸν καταδεξάμενον καὶ ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ κτησάμενον αὐτήν . . . πρὸς ἑαυτήν ἔλκει, is given in *Ox. Papyr.* IV. 7 with the words underlined inadvertently omitted. Clement's Power of the Word, which like the leaven *draws* all men who have received it and have it within them *to itself*, may have been suggested to him by the action of Continence and Endurance in the Picture of Kebes.

There is nothing abstruse thus far in the Saying, the plain sense of lines 9-15 being that man should 'rise through nature up to nature's God,' in accordance with Old and New Testament teaching as below.

Job xii. 7, 8. But ask now the beasts, and they shall

teach thee; and the fowls of the air, and they shall tell thee: Or speak to the earth, and it shall teach thee; and the fishes of the sea shall declare unto thee.

Matt. vi (Luke xii. 22 f.). 26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? 28 Consider the lilies of the field. 30 O ye of little faith. 32 Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

Men are to learn faith in the heavenly Father from the things of earth. Next after 'heaven' in line 11 f. come the birds 'of the heaven,' and then by way of contrast and paradox 'every creature that is under the earth.' I prefer *πάν κτίσμα*, *every creature*, to *τῶν θηρίων*, as comprehending 'the grass of the field' as well as the beasts.

Whatever was meant by Luke xvii. 21, *the kingdom of God is within you*, the saying 'The kingdom of heaven is within you,' as it stands in ll. 15-16, must mean that the kingdom is not external but within a man, in his heart. Was the saying in either form quite new, or can we find something which gave rise to it? The word of faith in Rom. x. 8 being the Gospel of the Kingdom, the saying rests upon Deut. i. c., to which St. Paul refers.

Mr. Badham aptly quotes from the beginning of Clem. *Paed.* iii. 'It is then, as it appears, the greatest of all lessons to know one's self. For if a man knows himself he will know God' (*N. S.* p. 17). Having come to know himself a man finds the kingdom of heaven within him; and conversely, having found this within them, men rise to a yet higher self-knowledge. The proposed reading *καὶ εὐρόντες* after *εὐρήσει* (l. 17) is in the style of l. 7.

Luke ii. 49 *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου*, lit. *in my Father's*, is best illustrated by John xiv. 2, *In my Father's house (οἰκίᾳ) are many mansions*, compared with the quotations of it in Iren. iii. 20. 3, v. 36 (vol. ii. 105, 427 f. ed. Harvey). In the latter place, near the end of his last book, Irenaeus writes, *ὥς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι κτῆ. οἱ δὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς πόλεως καθέξουσιν . . . καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι*

τὸν κύριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς, relating that the Elders quoted the Lord as saying, That *in my Father's* (Lat. *apud Patrem*) are many mansions. In the former place we have now only the Latin, *Multae enim mansiones apud Patrem*.

Clem. *Strom.* vi. 6 (P. 763 f.). Here Clement discourses again, as in *Strom.* ii. 9, on the preaching in Hades (Herm. *Sim.* ix. 16); and he writes of the repentant, 'even though in another place,' as ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντας τοῦ παντοκράτορος, i.e. according to Potter, in the number of those who are God Almighty's; but the phrase in itself may also mean, in His *precincts*. The Saviour preached drawing (ἐλκύσας) men wherever they were to salvation. God is the Lord of of all men, 'but more intimately the Father of those who know' (P. 764).

The Editors' reading η̅π̅τ̅ο in l. 21 seems to be right by the facsimile, and the unfinished word would be πόλις (Blass), an archaic form of πόλις, *city*. 'Ye are the city,' cf. Heb. xi. 10 R.V., Rev. xxi., and the Greek saying that 'men, not walls, are a city,' is implicitly contained in Matt. v. 14, *'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid,* a saying embodied in one of the Oxyrhynchus *Logia*.

THIRD SAYING, ll. 21-27.

	[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς
οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἀνθρώπος		
ρων ἐπερωτῆσαι πα[.		
ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς		
25 σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ		
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [.		
σιν.		

LINES 21-4. What sort or condition of man will inquire? and of whom and about the place of what? Answers to the latter questions first occurred to me.

Line 23 ends with two *plus* three *plus* eight dots and is followed by ρων. For πα... read παρὰ, suppose ρων to be the

end of a genitive plural, and in the space . . . after *παρά* write *τῶν*. Elders of the Church being likely personages to be inquired of, *πρεσβυτέρων*, *elders*, with its eight *plus* three letters may be assumed to be the genitive which was to be found.

Line 24 is the *cruæ* of the Saying. After *τῆς* there are five *plus* three *plus* four dots, and *σεε* begins the next line. The Saying ended with a warning, introduced probably by a *But*; before which must have come, *concerning the place of his* Read accordingly,

περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' εὐρή|σεε,

and we shall have filled up line 24, leaving no space at all for the noun which agreed with *τῆς*.

Satisfied that no superfluous letters had been inserted, and that the Editors' estimate of the space to be filled was nevertheless as usual accurate, I felt that there must be some exceptional way out of the difficulty. The facsimile and the transcript in capitals (*N. S. p. 11*) show *ὑμεῖς* first omitted and then written above l. 19, and the like has happened in the Third Saying (l. 25), thus,

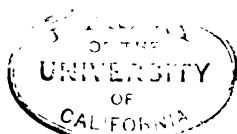
ση
CETE ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΕCONTAI

In l. 24 suspend *αὐτοῦ*, and we get back the space wanted for *μονῆς*, *mansion*, a word associated with 'place' in John xiv. 2, *In my Father's house are many mansions* . . . *I go to prepare a place for you*.

Lastly, what sort or condition of man will inquire? In l. 22 f. we have six *plus* three dots *plus* *ρῶν*, which suggests *ἡμερῶν*, *of days*. Abraham and Isaac died each *πλήρης ἡμερῶν*, *full of days* (Gen. xxv, xxxv). *Πλήρης* completes l. 22, and gives the sense, that a man looking to the end of his days will take thought and ask about the place of his abode in the world to come,

Saith Jesus,

*A man full of days will not hesitate
To inquire of the elders
Concerning the place of his mansion.*



LINES 24-7. Line 26 ends with twelve dots in the transcript, but the Editors' proposed reading ζων αἰώνιον ξου|σιw (Ox. Papyr. IV. 8) allows fifteen. To contrast with πολλοί read καὶ ὀλίγοι, *and few*; and then κλητοί (or ἐκλεκτοί) εἰ|σιw, comparing Matt. xxii. 14. Thus the Saying ends with the warning,

But ye shall find

25 *That many that are first shall be last and*
The last first, and few are called (or chosen).

With its four *iotas* in the room of two ordinary letters, οἱγοι κλητοι εἰ fits into the space of twelve. Κλητοί here would have the sense *called* effectually, as in places of the New Testament, or Barn. l. c. (p. 5).

Papias writes in the introduction to his work on the Dominical Oracles (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39), that he will not hesitate (Οὐκ ὀκνήσω) to incorporate things learned from the Elders; and he names Thomas as an authority for some of his traditions.

FOURTH SAYING, ll. 27-31.

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἐμπροσ-
θεν τῆς ὀψέως σου καὶ [τὸ κεκρυμμένον
ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται σοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐσ-
30 τιν κρυπτὸν δ' οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται
καὶ τεθαμμένον δ' οὐκ ἐγεθήσεται.

Saith Jesus, All that is not before
Thy face, and that which is hidden
From thee, shall be revealed to thee. For there is not
30 *Anything hid which shall not be made manifest,*
And buried which shall not be raised.

This Saying, which has been well restored by the Editors, is akin to Matt. x. 26, Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known; Mark iv. 22 R.V. For there is nothing hid, save that it should be manifested; neither was anything made secret, but that it should come to light;

Luke xii. 2 R.V. But there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed: and hid, that shall not be known.

St. Mark's telic construction indicates that things hidden are hidden by design, and with intent that they should come to light in due time. The parallels from Matt. and Luke, which fail to express this, are perhaps later, although the contrary is suggested by the Editors (*N. S.* p. 18).

A thing may be hidden from a man because it is not before his face, or because, being in his line of sight, it is covered up. In Xenophon's *Mem. Socr.* ii. 3 there is a saying of the proverbial sort, that the most far-sighted eyes cannot even of things near at hand see at once what is before and what is behind; and in *Herm. Sim.* ix. 2. 7 Hermas is told, 'The things behind thee thou canst not see, but the things before thee thou beholdest,' and is advised to let alone what he cannot see and master what he can. The promise of the Saying to men who desiderate *gnosis* is in effect, Then shall ye know.

The revelation to come is expressed partly in terms of a resurrection. Things simply hidden shall be brought to light, and the dead and buried shall be raised. The Saying is more finished in form than the Gospel parallels, to which it not improbably alludes.

FIFTH SAYING, ll. 32-42.

- [ἐξ]ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 [λέ]γουσιν· πῶς νηστεύσομεν καὶ πῶς . . .
 [. . .] μεθα καὶ πῶς [.]
 35 [. . .] καὶ τί παρατηρήσομεν
 [. . .] ν; λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [.]
 [. . .] εἶται μὴ ποιεῖτε [.]
 [. . .] ἡς ἀληθείας ἀν[.]
 [.] ν δ[π]οκεκρ[υ]
 40 [.] μα[κάρ]ι[ός] ἐστιν [.]
 [.] ω ἐστ[ι]
 [.] μ[υ[.]

'Though this Saying is broken beyond hope of recovery, its general drift may be caught' (*N. S.* p. 19).

LINES 32-36. 'Ἐξέράζουσιν may have been suggested by John xxi. 12 (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 9), 'And none of the disciples durst *question* him.' Keeping the indicative futures, or substituting subjunctives as *ἡστυεύσωμεν* (Swete), and comparing Matt. xxiii. 3, *observe and do*, we may suppose the Saying to have begun thus:—

His disciples question Him and say, How shall (or should) we fast, and how pray, and how give alms? and what shall (or should) we observe and do?

LINES 36-40. The reconstructor's range of conjecture will be limited if we assume that this section consisted simply of precepts without any reference to the reward of observance, a subject belonging to the beatitude, *Happy is he . . .*, in lines 40 f. The questions, *How should we fast, pray, give alms?* are answered as below in the Sermon on the Mount, which supplies materials for the beatitude also.

Matt. vi. 1 Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them . . . 2 . . . as the hypocrites do . . . 4 That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee *openly* (A.V. for ἐν φανερόν, om. R.V.). 5 And when ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites (R.V.): for they love to . . . be seen of men. 6 But . . . pray to thy Father which is in secret. 16 Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance. 18 That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret.

I had partly reconstructed these lines but had not filled up the space before εἶται (l. 37), when a reconstruction by the Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Dr. Barnes, was published in the *Guardian*. At once adopting his *ὑποκρεῖται*, for *ὑποκρίται*, I wrote down from Matt. vi. 5,

Ye shall not be as the | hypocrites.

Line 37 ends with five *plus* six dots, and what is not

to be done is evidently the opposite of the truth (l. 38). Comparing Rev. xxii. 15 *ποιῶν ψεῦδος*, read therefore at the end *ψεῦδος*, and before it *ὑμεῖς*, *ye*, in emphatic contrast with 'the hypocrites.'

Beginning line 38 with *ἀλλὰ τῆς*, we have left at the end six *plus* three *plus* four dots. Cancel six of these by reading *ἀντέχετε*, and we have space for *καί* to begin the next clause, and lastly for *ἔστω*, *be*, to lead up to *hid* in the next line. Or read *ἀντέχεσθε* and *ἔστω* *δέ*.

For . . . *ν* in line 39 read *ὑμῶν*, after *ἀποκεκρ.* read *ἀπό*, and end with the article. We have then to answer the questions, *Let your (?) be hidden away from (?)*. Matt. l. c. gives the answer in substance, but in the Saying what was its form? • Let your fastings, prayers, almsdeeds, and all that ye observe and do be 'in secret.' That is to say, let your religious life, *ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν*, be 'in secret.' These three words *minus* the *ν*, with the intervals between them and their two broad letters *ω*, *ω*, cover the space for nine average letters allowed by the Editors at the beginning of the line.

From whom or what is a man's life to be hidden? Matt. l. c. replies, From 'men.' But *ἀνθρώπων* is too long for the space (l. 40). An obvious synonym is the 'world,' and the six letters of *κόσμον* just fill the space available. The second part of the Saying will accordingly run thus:

*Saith Jesus, Ye shall not be as the
Hypocrites. Do not ye falsehood,
But hold fast to the truth. And be
Your life hidden away from the
40 World.*

Compare Col. ii. 20-iii 3, Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (Touch not; taste not; handle not; . . .) after the commandments and doctrines of men? . . . For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.

LINES 40-42. *Blessed is* he who keeps these sayings. Great *is* or *shall be* his reward in heaven (Matt. v. 12). Or the ω may be from $\epsilon\nu$ $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}$. In line 42 the $\iota\nu$ may belong to a verb, or to a noun as $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\nu$. The beatitude would have been in substance like others with which we are familiar, but it is safe to say that it cannot be restored with certainty from its scanty remains.

B.

FRAGMENT OF A LOST GOSPEL.

'Eight fragments of a papyrus in roll form, containing a lost Gospel, the largest (*b*) measuring 8.2 x 8.3 cm. and comprising parts of the middles of two narrow columns' (*N. S.* p. 37). The Editors are in doubt as to the exact relation of some of the eight scraps which make up the Fragment to one another. Their reconstruction of the main part of it in minuscules is as follows:

[. . ἀ]πὸ πρωὶ ἕως ὁψέ	10 νει οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει . [.
[μήτ]ε ἀφ' ἑσπ[έ]ρας	ἐν ἔχοντ[ες] ἕνδ[υ]-
[ἕως π]ρωὶ μήτε [τῇ	μα τί ἐν[. . .] καὶ
[τροφῇ ὑ]μῶν τί φά-	ὑμεῖς ; τίς ἀν προσθ[εί]η
5 [γῆτε μήτε] τῇ στ[ο]-	ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν
[λῇ ὑ]μῶν τί ἐνδυ-	15 ὑμῶν ; αὐτὸ[ς δ]ώσει
[ση]σθε. [πολ]λῶ κρεῖ[σ]-	ὑμῖν τὸ ἐνδυμα ὑ-
[σου]ές [έστε] τῶν [κρί-	μῶν.
νων ἀτινα α]ὐξά-	

LINES 1-17. The Editors' rendering of these lines is:

1-7. (Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. (7-13) Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . .

(13-15) Who could add to your stature? (15-16) He himself will give you your garment.

Questions arise about the text, the translation and the interpretation of these Sayings.

The dots . . . printed above after *lack* are misplaced. The transcript shows that they are wanted after *spin* not (l. 10); and that they are not wanted after *lack* (l. 12), the space of *εν* . . . being quite filled up by the assumed *ἐνδεῖτε*, *lack ye?* The one word 'ye' is inadequate as a rendering of *καὶ ὑμεῖς*, i.e. *And ye* or *ye also*, according to the punctuation adopted (l. 12 f.). If *οὐδὲ ρήθει*, *neither do they spin*, be right as a reading in l. 10, the clause must be an unskilful abbreviation as from Matt. vi. 28.

Reading in lines 10-13:

καὶ (or *ἀλλ'*) *ἐν ἔχοντα* *ἐνδυμα* *τί ἐνδεῖ*; *καὶ ὑμεῖς*, with *τί* as a solecism (acc. for gen.), as the Editors take it to be, we may render lines 7-17 thus,

Much better are ye than the lilies, which grow neither do they spin: and (or yet) having one clothing what lack they? And ye, who could add to your stature? He Himself will give you your clothing.

The last clauses look incoherent. To connect them, note that artifices in dress are used to give the appearance of fine stature and physique.

Of the Sayings in this part of the Fragment, in relation to the canonical parallels, the Editors write, 'The papyrus version is, as a rule, shorter than the corresponding passages in the Gospels; where it is longer (ll. 1-3) the expansion does not alter the meaning in any way' (*N. S.* p. 42 f.). But it is possible to interpret some things in the Fragment differently. With the parallels quoted below from Matt. vi. compare those in Luke xii.

Matt. vi. 34 Take therefore no thought for the morrow.
25 Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? 26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow

not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? 27 Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature (*R.V. marg.* 'age')? 28 And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: 29 And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. 30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? 31 Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? 32 . . . for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

Briefly, men are not to be anxious whether they shall have the necessities of life.

The general curtness of the Oxyrhynchus version of these Sayings makes its expansion of 'the morrow' in ll. 1, 2 the more significant; and the Editors write suggestively on *στολή* (l. 5 f.), that it 'is not quite the word that would be expected, being used in the New Testament for grand "robes" rather than a plain garment' (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 25).

Clem. *Paed.* ii. 10 (P. 231) makes the 'what' of Matt. vi. 25 exclude variety, and such is perhaps the teaching of the Fragment. Its warning may be against taking thought, not for 'your life' and for 'your body,' whether in the near future ye shall be able to supply their wants; but for 'your food,' what sorts ye shall eat, and for 'your raiment,' what ye shall wear at this or that time of the day. The lilies which have no changes of raiment, what do they lack?

In Clem. *Hom.* xv. 7 the Prophet of the truth is said by Peter to have taught, that they who of the two kingdoms choose the kingdom to come should be content here with bare necessities: water, bread and *περιβολαίου ενός*, one garment.

One of the Elizabethan *Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches* (No. 18) inveighs thus against 'Excess of Apparel':

'The Israelites (Deut. xxix.) were contented with such apparel as God gave them, although it were base and simple. And God so blessed them, that their shoes and clothes lasted them forty years; yea, and those clothes, which their fathers had worn, their children were contented to use afterwards. But we . . . are loth to wear such as our fathers have left us; we think not that sufficient or good enough for us. We must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one through furred, another but faced; one for the working-day, another for the holy-day; one of this colour, another of that colour; one of cloth, another of silk or damask. We must have change of apparel, one afore dinner, and another after; one of the Spanish fashion, another Turkey: and, to be brief, never content with sufficient. Our Saviour Christ bade his disciples they should not have two coats (Matt. x.): but the most men, far unlike to his scholars, have their presses so full of apparel, that many know not how many sorts they have.'

Compare also Enoch xcvi. 2 (ed. Charles), 'For ye men will put on more adornments than a woman, and coloured garments more than a virgin: in royalty, and in grandeur, and in power, and in silver, and in gold, and in purple, and in splendour, and in food they will be poured out as water.'

LINES 17-23. In His reply to a question of Salome about the age to come, the Lord is related in the Gospel according to the Egyptians to have said, *Ὁραν τὸ τῆς αἰσχρίας ἐνδυμα παρήσῃτε*, *When ye shall have trampled the clothing of shame*. See 2 Clem. R. xii. 2, 'For the Lord Himself, being asked by a certain person when His kingdom would come, said . . .,' with the passages cited from Clem. *Strom.* iii. and *Exc. Theod.* in Lightfoot's note. The Oxyrhynchus version (or what remains of it) of the question and answer is as follows:

His disciples say unto Him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be unclothed and not ashamed.

The form of the question was probably based upon John xiv. 22, *What is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?* On the reply to it see below. But first notice the seeming incongruity of the question. It follows sayings evolved from the Sermon on the Mount. If in the Gospel the hearers had been said to have asked in the course of it, 'When shall we see thee?' the ineptitude of the question would have been apparent. Why should the question in the Fragment seem to any one to be less out of place? Only because the question is overshadowed by the strange answer. Did the disciples then forecast the answer? No, but the compiler did. After sayings on clothing he brings in another saying on the subject, to the effect that in the ideal future no clothing will be wanted. Thus, it may be argued, he shows himself to be not an Evangelist, but a Logiographer, who puts together sayings upon a subject without regard to historical sequence and occasion.

It so happened that in *Oxyrhynchus Logia* (p. 103) I touched upon the reply to Salome, a well-known matter of controversy, and connected it with Gen. ii. 25 *naked and not ashamed*. This connexion is now attested by the Oxyrhynchus form of the reply.

The saying in Barn. vi. 13, *Lo, I make τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, the last things as the first things*, was taken to mean (*Ox. Log.* p. 71 f.), that in the last days there would be a sort of Paradise Regained, and the question was raised whether 'Barnabas' knew the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians.'

Perhaps 'Hermas' also knew that Gospel and the saying to Salome. Herm. *Sim.* ix. 11 describes his mysterious vigil with the Virgins, the twelve personified Christian Graces, from Faith to Love. The building of the tower is finished, and thus symbolically the end is come. Hermas, as if grown young again, accompanies the Virgins as they

dance round the tower. The Virgins spread their linen tunics (chaps. ii, xiii) upon the ground for him to lie upon, and thus they are 'unclothed and not ashamed.'

Whatever the saying to Salome first meant, it was open to diverse interpretations. One is in effect suggested by Spenser on the symbolic dance of the Graces in his *Faerie Queene* (vi. 10. 24):

Therefore they alwaies smoothly seeme to smile,
That we likewise should mylde and gentle be;
And also naked are, that without guile
Or false dissemblaunce all them plaine may see,
Simple and true from covert malice free;
And eeke themselves so in their daunce they bore,
That two of them still froward seem'd to be,
But one still towards shewed herselfe afore;
That good should from us goe, then come, in greater store.

In the Πουμάνδρης of Hermes Trismegistos, chap. vii. 2 f. (ed. Parthey, 1854), man in his present state is said to wear ἐχθρὸν χιτῶνα, a *hateful* or *hostile tunic*, a web of ignorance, which veils the beauty of the truth. He must hate the body before he can love himself (ib. iv. 6). The 'clothing of shame' (p. 21) has been understood to be the body.

LINES 41-6. These lines, restored by Dr. Bartlet in the sense of the saying to lawyers in Luke xi. 52, are thus rendered by the Editors, *He hid, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves, and to them that were entering in ye opened not.* But it has been pointed out that, as addressed to the disciples, they should run in the third person, ἐκρυψαν κτῆ, *they hid . . . they entered not . . . they opened not.*

LINES 46-50. Nothing is left of this saying but the beginnings of ll. 47-50,

ΔΕ ΓΕΙ. ΜΟΙΩ. ΚΕΡΑΙ. ΠΑ.

But *κεραι* at once suggests ἀκέραιοι (Matt. x. 16), and the other letters also may be read as parts of the saying, *But ye, be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves.*

C.

THE LOGIA.

The 'LOGIA IESOU, *Sayings of our Lord*,' found and published in 1897, are given below from *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, with some words of annotation old and new. Two of the Editors' eight 'Logia,' or sections which begin or began *Saith Jesus*, are here reckoned as one; but in some cases a Logion is regarded as made up of two sayings connected by an editorial *Kaí*, meaning 'And He saith' (*Ox. Log.* p. 8 f.), or otherwise.

LOGION I.

... καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

... and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

'This end of a saying . . . is identical with the last clause of St. Luke vi. 42 according to the Received Text and the English Authorized and Revised Versions.'

LOGION II.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εἴρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Καί, Ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.

(1) *Saith Jesus*, **Except ye fast** (? from) **the world**, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God. (2) **And**, **Except ye sabbatize the sabbath**, ye shall not see the Father.

(1) 'In *Clem. Alex. Strom.* iii. 15 we find οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες, *they that fast from the world* . . . where the writer not improbably rests upon the same authority as the Logiographer for his phrase νηστεύειν τοῦ κόσμου.' This, it has been thought, may have been the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians,' which is mentioned in *Strom.* iii.

At the end of (1) it has been proposed to read 'kingdom of Jesus' (*Ox. Log.* p. 76 f.).

(2) 'And *He saith*, Except &c.' The duty of fasting having been idealized, the keeping of the Sabbath is spiritualized in like manner. The sayings (1) and (2) may or may not have come together in the original document or tradition to which they belonged.

LOGIA III, IV.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς. Καί, Πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσω τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πτωχείαν.

(1) *Saith Jesus*, I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh I was seen of them; and I found all drunken, and none found I athirst among them. (2) *And, My soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart, and see not their wretchedness and their poverty.*

(1) This saying 'was probably suggested by Baruch iii. 37 *Afterward did she appear upon earth and was conversant with men,*' which early Fathers applied to Christ's sojourn upon earth. 'They so applied it after the Ascension, and the point of view in a Logion suggested by it would naturally be the same,' cf. Heb. v. 7.

In lieu of *διψῶντα*, *athirst* spiritually (*Ox. Log.* p. 28), Dr. Frank Granger in the *Classical Review*, vol. xvii. 251 (June, 1903), proposes *νήψαντα*, *sobered*, as suggested by passages of the *Poemandres* of Herm. Trismeg. In chap. i. 27 Hermes reproaches men for their abandonment to drunkenness and slumber, and says, 'Be sobered (*νήψατε*), cease to be sick with ebriety, pampered with senseless sleep.' Again in chap. vii. 1 he says, 'Be sobered and stand up (*στῆτε νήψαντες*), see again with the eyes of the heart, and if ye cannot all yet ye who can'; and (ib. 2) he



describes the realm of light and knowledge as a place 'where none is drunken but all are sober, gazing with the heart upon Him who willeth to be seen.'

Writing on the *Poemandres* in No. 19 of the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April, 1904), Dr. Granger remarks that its author belongs to the same school as the author of the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians,' and continues, '... he twice (i. 27, vii. 1) paraphrases the third *Logion Iesu*, and there is considerable reason for believing that the *Logia Iesu* are extracts from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. For in the *Classical Review* (xii. 35) I showed that the second *Logion* was to be referred to a context from which Clement quotes (*Strom.* iii. 15. 99), and that this context is probably the Gospel in question.'

(2) The Editors in their first edition of the *Logia* made the *verso* of the papyrus end with the line (*Ox. Log.* p. 28),

ΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΩ[Ν] ΚΑΙ . . ΒΛΕΙC,

and assigned the first line of the *recto*, containing only τὴν πωχείαν, *poverty*, to a fresh *Logion*. I proposed to connect 'poverty' with the preceding *Logion* as above. The Editors, regarding this conjecture not unfavourably, wrote καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν . . . in their revised transcript (*Ox. Papyr.* I. 1, 3).

LOGION V.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, "Ὅπου ἐὰν ᾧσιν β' οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι, καὶ ὅπου εἰς ἐστὶν μόνος λέγω Ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ. "Εγείρον τὸν λίθον κακεὶ εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

(1) Saith Jesus, Wheresoever there be two, they are not godless; and where there is one only, I say, I am with him. (2) Raise up the stone, and there thou shalt find me: cleave the tree and there am I.

(1) This saying may very well be complete in itself, although not marked off from (2) by an editorial 'And He saith.'

(2) I incline to a literal acceptance of Ἐγείρον κτέ,

as opposed to the widespread 'pantheistic interpretation.' So Granger in *The Soul of a Christian*, chap. ix.

The saying (2) is perhaps played upon in the Gospel of Thomas (*Ox. Log.* p. 91 f.).

LOGION VI.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ. Οὐδὲ ἱατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γνώσκοντας αὐτόν.

(1) **Saith Jesus, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country.** (2) **Neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.**

The sayings (1) and (2) might be regarded as distinct, but they are brought together more or less explicitly in the Gospels.

LOGION VII.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Πόλις ὠκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πεσεῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυβῆναι.

Saith Jesus, A city built on the top of a high hill and established can neither fall nor be hid.

We have here, I should say, a clear case of conflation. Why should a city on the top of a high hill not fall? In the military sense its position would be perhaps a strong one; but that is not to the point here. Structures on an exposed site will fall the sooner for being so placed, cf. *Ecclus. xxii. 18 Pales set on a high place will not stand against the wind.* To make sense of the Logion we must suppose an introverted parallelism, and so connect its beginning with its end only. This leads up to a resolution of it into two separate sayings, actually or in substance *Matt. v. 14 A city set on a hill cannot be hid*, and *Matt. vii. 24-25 (Ox. Log. p. 58 f.)*.

LOGION VIII.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίῳ σου τὸ . . .

Saith Jesus, Thou hearest into thy one ear . . .

Adopting Dr. Swete's conjectural addition, the Editors write, 'The sense is, Thou hearest with one ear, *but the other thou hast closed*, i.e. Thou attendest imperfectly to my message' (*Ox. Log.* p. 63).

D.

CONCLUSION.

THE THREE PAPYRI. (a) Of the date of the Logia papyrus more 'cannot be said with any approach to certainty' than that it is of the period 150-300 A.D.; but it was 'probably written not much later than the year 200' (*ed. princ.* p. 6). 'Since the papyrus itself was written not much later than the beginning of the third century, this collection of sayings must go back at least *to the end of the second century*' (*ib.* p. 16). (b) The script of the New Sayings, found on the back of a survey-list of various pieces of land, is assigned 'to the middle or end of the third century; a later date than A.D. 300 is most unlikely.' It belongs probably to a later decade than that of the Logia (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 1; *N. S.* p. 9). (c) The Gospel Fragment is in writing of a type which belongs in most cases to the third century, but is found also in the second and the fourth. The Fragment 'is not likely to have been written later than A.D. 250' (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 22 f.). About 200 A.D. might accordingly be assumed to start with as a common *terminus ad quem* for the contents of the three Fragments.

TEXT OF THE NEW SAYINGS.

This text gives the New Sayings as read in Section A.

Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ ἀληθινοὶ οὓς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς
καὶ Θωμᾷ, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀμὴν λέγω, ὅστις
ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀκούσῃ θανάτου
5 οὐ μὴ γεύσεται. > λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

Μὴ πανσάσθω ὁ ζητῶν τὴν σοφίαν ἕως ἂν
εὕρῃ, καὶ ὅταν εὕρῃ θαμβείσθω· καὶ θαμ-
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, καὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-
ήσεται. > λέγει Ἰησοῦς· Ἐρωτᾶτε τίνες
10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς ἄνω εἰς οὐρανόν, εἰ
ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστίν; Ἀμὴν λέγω,
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὅ-
τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστίν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκον-
15 τες ὑμᾶς. καί· Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
ἐντός ὑμῶν ἐστί· καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἐαυτὸν
γνῶ ταύτην εὕρῃσει, καὶ εὐρόντες
ἐαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες
ἐστέ ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ παντοκράτορος, καὶ
20 γνώσεσθε ἐαυτοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὄντας,
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πόλις. > λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

Οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθρωπος πλήρης ἡμε-
ρῶν ἐπερωτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-
ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς μονῆς αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' εὕρῃ-
25 σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, καὶ ὀλίγοι κλητοὶ εἰ-
σιν. > λέγει Ἰησοῦς· Πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἐμπροσ-
θεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου καὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον
ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι. οὐ γὰρ ἔσ-
30 τιν κρυπτὸν δ' οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται,
καὶ τεθαμμένον δ' οὐκ ἐγεροθήσεται. >
ἐξετάσουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
λέγουσιν· Πῶς νηστεύομεν, καὶ πῶς προσ-
ευξόμεθα, καὶ πῶς ἐλεημοσύνην δώ-

35 σομεν, καὶ τί παρατηρησόμεθα καὶ ποι-
ήσομεν; λέγει Ἰησοῦς· Οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ
ὑποκριταί. μὴ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ψεῦδος,
ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντέχεσθε. ἔστω δὲ
ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ
40 κόσμου. μακάριός ἐστιν
. ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστ
. ω

INTRODUCTION (ll. 1-5). The reading 'These are the last words' (Hicks) would suit a concluding section. Dr. Swete thinks that the collection may have been in twelve parts, each associated with the name of one of the twelve apostles. If the compiler used the Fourth Gospel (p. 4), this would give a *terminus a quo* for the date of the compilation; but the Sayings would have to be interrogated as to their several dates.

In the recently published Fascic. 3 of Prof. Dr. Gerard Rauschen's *Florilegium Patristicum* (Bonn, 1905), which includes the Logia and the New Sayings, the Introduction begins, with Οὐ to be deleted,

Οὐ τοῖτοι οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν Κ|ηφᾶ.

Hilgenfeld in the *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.* (1904) reckons the New Sayings as four only, and finds them much more Gnostic than 'priora illa septem.' 'Aliter sentit Heinrici,' *Theol. Literaturz.* (1904). Rauschen makes four paragraphs, beginning at ll. 1, 9, 27, 32.

FIRST SAYING (ll. 5-9). To the repeated λέγει Ἰησοῦς there are parallels in Old English. Every extant stanza of the 'Proverbs of Alfred' after the first begins, *Quoth Alfred*; and of the forty stanzas of the 'Proverbs of Hendyng' all but the first and the last terminate with a *Quoth Hendyng*. See the Clarendon Press *Specimens of Early English*, ed. R. Morris and W. W. Skeat.

(a) The short form of the Saying in *Strom.* ii. (p. 5) is

given by Hilgenfeld on *Ev. sec. Hebraeos*, p. 22, 1884, with a reference for it to 2 Clem. R. He also quotes Aristot. *Metaph.* i. 2 διὰ γὰρ τὸ θαυμάζειν κτῆ, for on account of wondering men do and did from the first begin to philosophise. The wonders of the heavens lead to inquiry and philosophy, cf. Philo, *M.* i. 12, &c. 'He who wonders shall reign.' Wonder begets wisdom, which confers true kingship (*ib.* i. 250 n.). This is the core of the Saying. Its ending is less remarkable. If Pseudo-Clem. R. quotes it he misses the point of θαυμάσας. Barn. iv. 13 perhaps alludes also to Rom. ii. 17 ἐπανάπαυή νόμῳ, cf. Mic. iii. 11. About 130 A.D. would thus be a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the short form of the Saying.

(b) The Oxyrhynchus Saying is the short form amplified. Scriptural exhortations to seek and find account for its first clause. The latter half of it is simply 'Ο θαυμάσας κτῆ with θαυβεῖσθαι substituted for Plato and Aristotle's θαυμάζειν. To Clement's form in *Strom.* v. attention, it is said, was first called by Zahn (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 5).

If in *Strom.* ii. 'Ο θαυμάσας κτῆ had been assigned to an unnamed apocryphal Gospel, it would have been inferred from 2 Clem. R. v. that this was the Gospel according to the Egyptians. One and the same saying, to speak generally, may have been recorded in more than one such Gospel. In the present case the longer form of the Saying may have been originally a *graphé* or an *agraphon*.

SECOND SAYING (ll. 9-21). For the word ἔλκειν (l. 10) see also 4 Macc. xiv. 13 and Herm. *Vis.* iii. 2. 6, 5. 2. The book of Job is supposed to allude to Deuteronomy. If it alludes to Deut. xxx. 11 f. (p. 9), note its 'in me,' i.e. the depth, for 'beyond the sea,' comparing Rom. x. 7. Jewish writings connect Deut. xxx. with Proverbs and Job on wisdom; and New Testament commentaries illustrate Rom. x. 6 f. from Deut. xxx. and Prov. xxx. The references to Deut., Job, Rom. are given also by the Dean of Westminster, in the *Sat. Rev.* of July 30, 1904. Possibly Matt. vi. alludes

to Job xii. 7, 8 (p. 10 f.). On the Greek of 'and the fishes . . .' see Field's *Hexapla*.

In l. 15 f. a canonical saying is combined with the Greek γνῶθι σεαυτόν, *know thyself*. On this see Philo *De Somn.* (M. i. 629) and compare Clem. l. c. p. 11 (Hart). Hippolytus in *Ref.* v. 7 couples τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην with a lost form of the Gospel of Thomas (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 18).

In l. 18 as restored conjecturally we seem to have 'an echo of St. Paul's words' in 2 Cor. vi. 18, 'And I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.' 'Father Almighty' (l. 18), on which see Kattenbusch, *Das apost. Symbol*, ii. 520 f., 'though common in Christian writings from the second century onwards, has no parallel in the New Testament' (Swete).

The archaic πτόλις for πτο being thought doubtful, I venture to propose the alternative reading,

20 γνώσεσθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ναῶ αὐτοῦ ὄντας
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτέρυξ.

See Steph. *Thesaur. L. G.* on πτέρυξ for πτερόγιον (Matt. iv., Luke iv.). In the former line Mr. Hart suggests ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄντας, cf. John i. 11 τὰ ἴδια.

THIRD SAYING (ll. 21-27). The rendering, 'A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask concerning his place in the kingdom,' is impossible with the proposed reading τῆς βασιλείας (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 8). This would give the sense 'concerning the place of the kingdom' and make the third Saying a sequel to the second, as in Rauschen's par. 2. The reading in l. 24,

περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς μονῆς αὐτοῦ,

was worked up to as on p. 13, the word for 'mansion' doubtless occurring to me the more readily because I had been thinking of John xiv. 2 in another connexion (p. 11). Dr. Swete quotes the verse for 'place' only.

ἐπερωτῆσαι παρά] Παρά is used 'after verbs of asking, receiving, or those which imply these ideas,' as αἰτεῖς, ἡκρί-

βωσε, ζητούντες, ἐπυνθάνετο (N. T.). The nearest approach that I find to παρά after ἐπερωτᾶν is 2 Macc. vii. 2 Μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν ἡμῶν (al. παρ' ἡμῶν); but it seems unavoidable in l. 23.

FOURTH SAYING (ll. 27-31). With l. 29 f. compare Luke viii. 17 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτὸν δὲ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον δὲ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ. Eccles. xii. 14 may underlie the New Testament teaching on the subject.

FIFTH SAYING (ll. 32-42). This may have been evolved from the Gospels, which record questions asked by the disciples; or from the Gospels and Col. ii., iii. (p. 17). Grammatically some prefer subjunctives as νηστεύσωμεν, but indicative futures are also possible. The precepts in ll. 37-40 may rest partly upon the Johannine writings, but τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντέχεσθαι is a phrase of Plato (*Phileb.* 58 E). Although *άνων* for ἀνθρώπων (Log. 3) is possible in l. 40 also, I prefer κόσμου (Log. 2). Dr. Swete's expression 'the results of a life regulated by this principle' is testimony to the naturalness of ζώη in l. 39. In ll. 37-40 he reads, 'See that ye lose not your reward. Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth; for if ye do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery.'

THE LOGIA.

In the *ed. princ.*, after the words quoted from its sixteenth page (p. 28), we read, 'But the internal evidence points to an earlier date. The primitive cast and setting of the sayings, the absence of any consistent tendency in favour of any particular sect, the wide divergences in the familiar sayings from the text of the Gospels, the striking character of those which are new, combine to separate the fragment from the "apocryphal" literature of the middle and latter half of the second century, and to refer it back to the period when the Canonical Gospels had not yet reached their pre-eminent position. Taking 140 A.D. then

as the *terminus ad quem*, and postponing for the present the question of the *terminus a quo*, we proceed to consider the possibility, which the *provenance* of the papyrus naturally suggests, that our fragment may come from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. Divergence from the Gospels is a sign of early or late date according to the nature of the divergence. The Editors think that I was inclined to regard the Logia as mere 'extracts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians' (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 18; *N. S.* p. 29). I thought of them rather as 'severally extracted or *evolved* from the canonical and other writings' (*Ox. Log.* p. 81).

GENESIS AND DATE OF THE SAYINGS.

The New Sayings and the Logia being supposed parts of the same collection, what was the redactor's share in its composition? In the Introduction he claims the authority of the risen Lord and seemingly uses the Fourth Gospel (p. 3 f.). Probably he found the Sayings already attributed to Jesus by name after the manner of the Gospels; but we may ascribe to him the systematic use of his phrase, 'Saith Jesus,' and the editorial *καί* (pp. 8, 24). In other cases also he may have made two or more sayings into one.

Dr. Swete writes of the New Sayings, 'That they have assumed their present form under the influence of the Canonical Gospels, possibly also of the Apocalypse and certain of the Pauline Epistles, is not altogether incredible, *even if we assent to the judgment of the editors that the compilation is not later than the middle of the second century*.' The Editors' *terminus ad quem* is still 140 A. D., but Zahn dated the Logia 160-70 A. D. (*Ox. Papyr.* IV. 15, 17). So far as they are parallel to the Synoptic Gospels they presuppose them. Logion 7 is a forced combination of Matt. v. 14 in a late form with matter foreign to it (p. 27). Some things in them, as the phrase 'see the Father,' pointed to a possible use of the Fourth Gospel, now further attested by the New Sayings, which, in brief, draw from

the Old and New Testaments, and in some measure from extraneous Greek sources. It is hard to fix a more precise date for the collection than 150–200 A. D.

λέγει Ἰησοῦς] The formula 'Saith Jesus' is not free from ambiguity, 'saith' being often explanatory and equivalent to 'means to say' (*Ox. Log.* p. 76). Derived in part from documents, the Sayings may have owed something to oral exposition by catechists and homilists; and a second-century Logiographer would not if he could have drawn the line quite like a modern critic between words of Jesus and Christian teaching traditionally associated with them.

By what short title, if any, would the Sayings have been known? The Introduction, read with Κύριος, suggests 'Words of the Lord,' cf. 'my words' (*N. T.*), and the 'word of the Lord' (*O. T.*). The 'words' in Acts xx. 35 are those of a single saying. In support of 'Dominical Oracles,' cf. 1 Pet. iv. 11, 'as *logia* of God.' Mr. Hart suggests 'Wisdom of Jesus,' comparing Luke xi. 49 ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν, cf. Lock and Sanday's *Two Lectures*, pp. 37, 48. The title so used would account for its rarity among early Christians as a name of Eccles., which they usually called 'Wisdom of Solomon.'

THE 'LOST GOSPEL.'

LINES 10–23. In respect of space the proposed τί ἐνδεῖ; καὶ makes a very good ending for l. 12. With the faulty acc. τί cf. *Log.* 2 τὸν κόσμον. The Greek of ll. 17–23 is, λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ | πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφανὴς ἔσει καὶ πότε | σε ὀφόμεθα; λέγει· | ὅταν ἐκδύσῃσθε καὶ | μὴ αἰσχυρῶνθε. In the translation *unclothed* (p. 22), instead of 'stripped' (*N. S.* p. 40), was meant to be allusive. See 1 Cor. xv. 37 f. *bare grain* . . . but God giveth it *a body*; 2 Cor. v. 2–4 . . . not for that we would be *unclothed*, but *clothed upon*. Philo, *De Philanthr.* (M. ii. 387 f.), describes the soul of Moses at his death as *denuded* of the body. Cyril of Jerusalem in *Catech.* xviii. 20 warns against the heretics who taught that 'the *garment* of the body' (Gr. χιτῶν, Jude 23) is alien and not part of a man's self. In

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Herm. *Poemandr.* chap. x. 16 the *Nous* at death, it is said, puts off the ἐνδύματα and takes a body of fire.

LINES 24-38. The remains of these lines are read as below in *Ox. Papyr.* IV. 23 f., the fragments from l. 29 being the beginnings of lines,

24 ΤΙΝ. ΩΤΙΝΩ. ΟCMΩ. Η. CTIN.

29 Θ. ΛΕ. Ο. ΤΑ. ΓΥ. ΚΑ. Ν. ΚΑ. ΗΜ. CΙ.

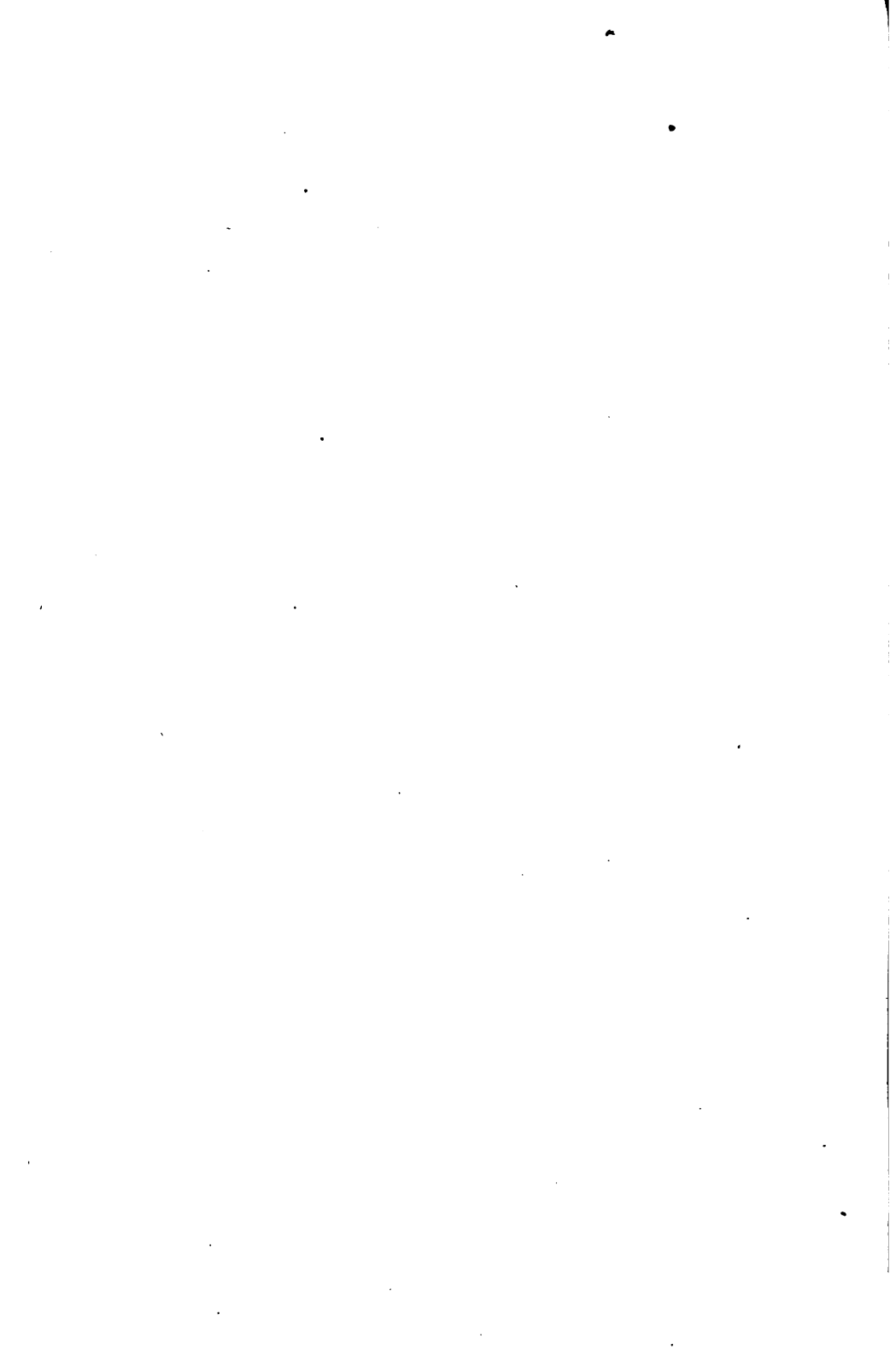
The reply to the disciples may or may not have continued after ἀλοχυνθήτε. Φωτεινῶ (l. 25) suits a description of τὰ ἔσχατα in terms of τὰ πρῶτα (p. 22). On the primal light hidden away for the righteous in the age to come see *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 57 f., 1897. Gen. Rab. xx. 12 on Gen. iii. 21 quotes a reading 'coats of light,' for *skin*; cf. Ps. civ. 2 *with light as with a garment*. The Targums call the clothes *glorious* (קרי).

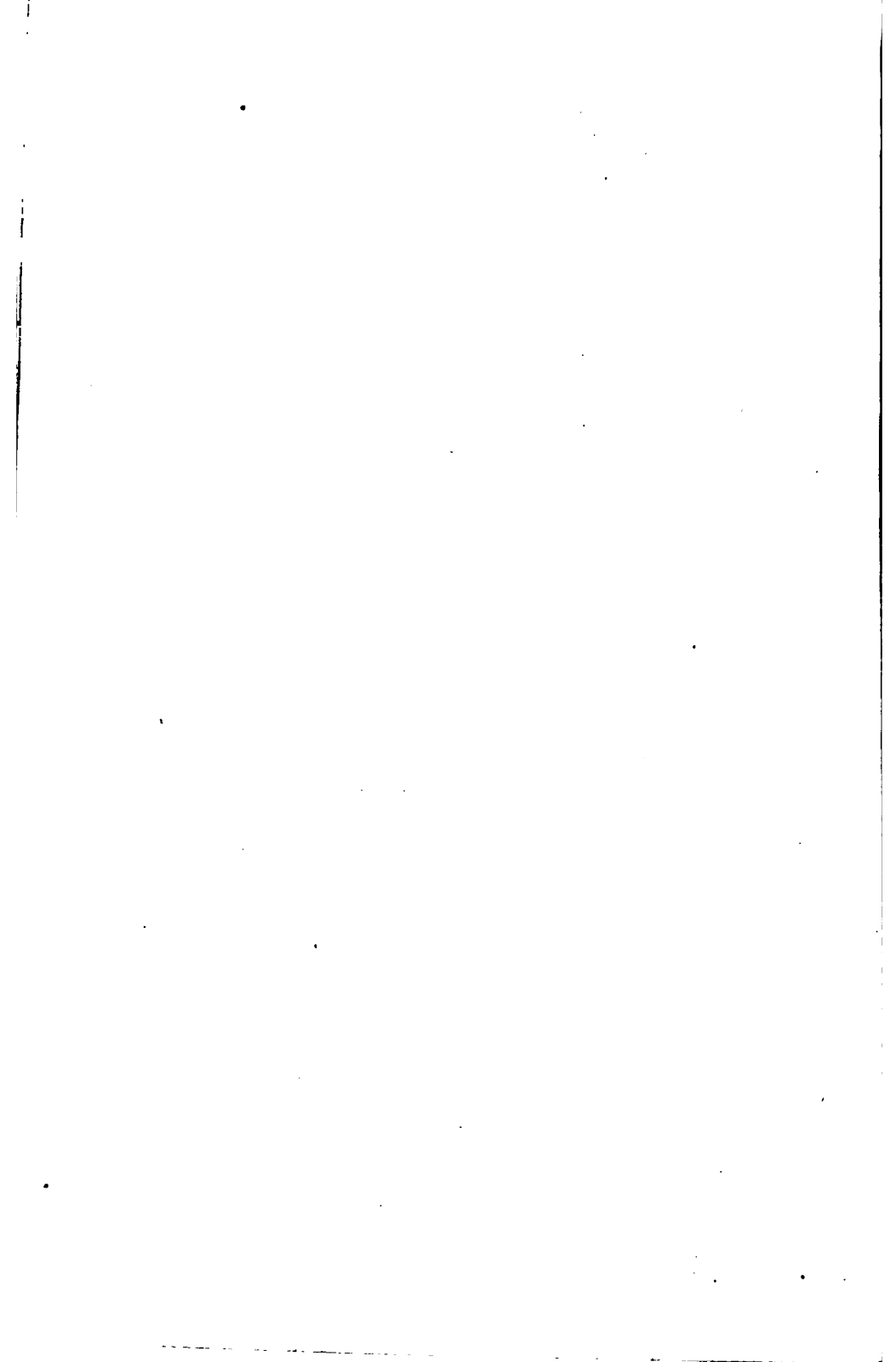
Ἡδυσμυ, *fragrant*, in l. 26 would go well with φωτεινῶ. In the *Passio S. Perpetuae (Texts and St., vol. i.)* the martyrs are borne aloft to 'as it were a garden with trees of rose and all manner of flowers,' and next they come to a place with walls built as if ἐκ φωτός, *of light*. In the last complete canto of the *Faerie Queene* Dame Nature's raiment is as dazzling as the transfigured Christ's, and the earth beneath is dight with flowers, which 'sent forth odours sweet.'

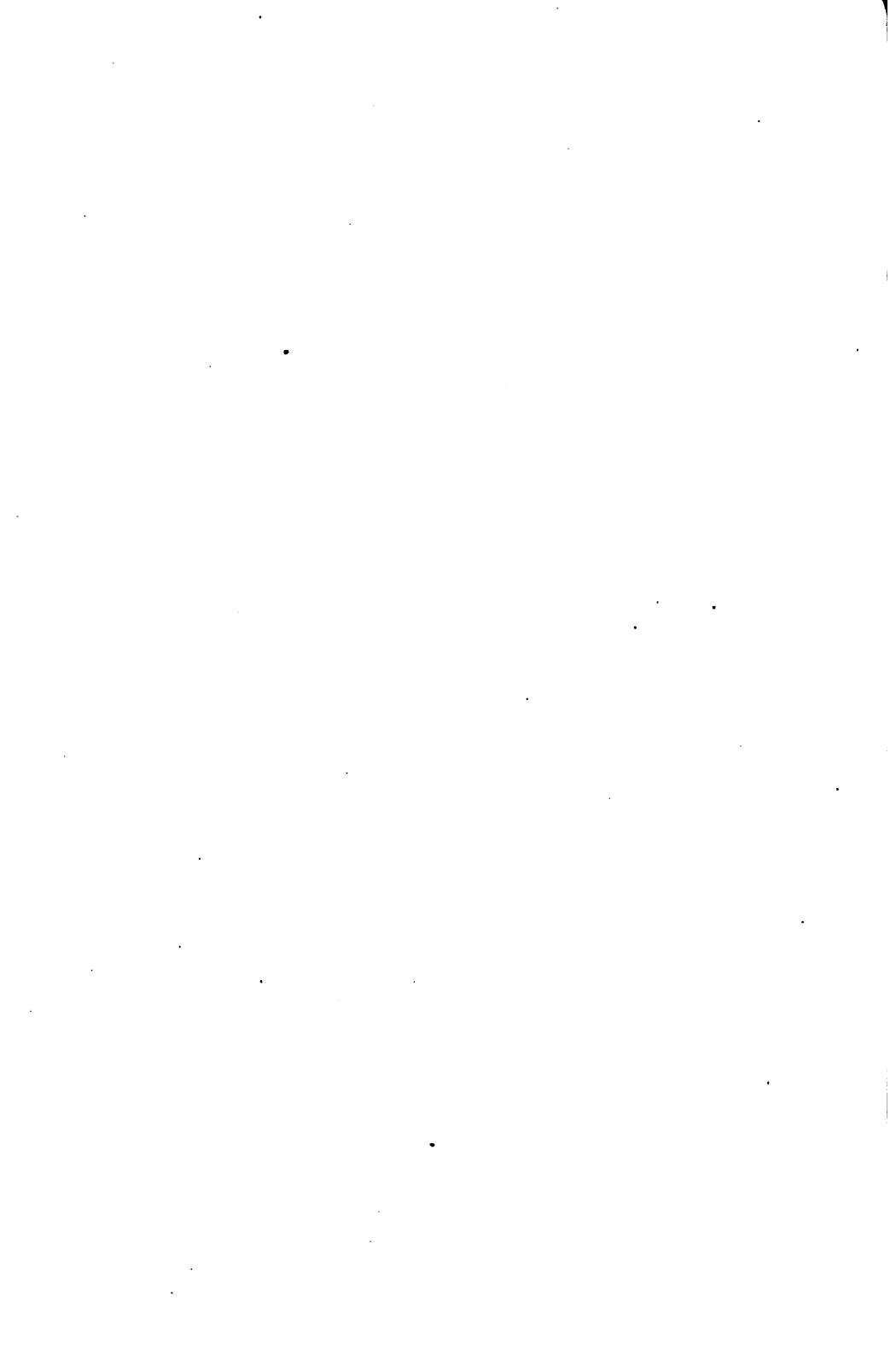
LINES 41-50. The end of the note on ll. 41-6 (p. 23) is from the *Guardian* (rev. of *N.S.*), which also reads ll. 46-50 as I had done some time previously.

Why should this Fragment be imagined to be part of a Gospel? To its one question and answer correspond the like in the second and fifth New Sayings; and the contents of its sections beginning at ll. 1, 17, 41, 46 properly belong to such a variety of contexts that I can only see in it another selection of Sayings of Jesus.









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